20c MAY 4, 1953

WAS THERE A DEAL IN THE ASTIN CASE?

New Republic

KOREA

Does the Russian Reply to Eisenhower Offer New Hope For a Settlement in Asia?

VIENNA

McCarthy's Junketing Juveniles Join the Kremlin in Attacking The US Information Program.

REVIEWS OF THREE NOVELS

The Retreat Stephania The Outsider

***Paolo Milano on* THE MOON AND THE BONFIRES**

APR 1953

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From Our Readers

Communists in the Churches

● I have just read the leading editorial (*NR*, April 20) entitled, "Communists in the Churches," and I cannot refrain from sending at once this brief word of heartiest approval. In my opinion, you have rendered a great service to the churches of this country and especially to those who are in positions of responsible leadership within the various denominations.

The problem is complicated and difficult, but it seems to me that you have succeeded admirably in brushing aside all the elements of confusion and in getting right down to the real heart of the matter.

In particular, I should like to express my full agreement with what you say in your final paragraph. I wish it might be possible for such evidence of Communist or any other subversive influence with the churches now or at any time in the possession of responsible governmental agencies to be submitted to the proper authorities of the churches, as you so sensibly suggest. This would enable the churches officially to evaluate the evidence and then to take such action as would be appropriate in the light of that evaluation. I feel very sure that all the denominations would welcome this kind of co-operation on the part of governmental agencies, both to the churches and to the country.

Boston, Mass. FREDERICK MAY ELIOT

● I was most interested in your editorial on Communist clergymen, and in the statement that Herbert Philbrick gave secret testimony in 1949 to the effect that there were eight secret Communist clergymen operating in Boston presumably at that time, 1949. It was also interesting to note that they were allegedly sent into theological schools on orders of the Communist Party. Until we get the names of these eight alleged Communist preachers, every progressive and liberal clergyman preaching in Boston in 1949 (and I don't think there were as many as eight) will be under a cloud of suspicion.

Since I was one of the very few liberal and progressive clergymen preaching in Boston in 1949, I am particularly anxious to know just who these eight Communist preachers were whom the Communist Party sent into the theological schools. If there were eight such persons, why not name them and thus lift the cloud of suspicion off of others whose interpretation of the Word may have sounded a bit reddish to the lady in the back pew? Until they are named, isn't it a shameful thing to go about sowing distrust, suspicion and confusion? I am surprised at *New Republic* for repeating this tale.

Hollywood, Calif. REV. HUGH WESTON

● I do particularly congratulate you upon your editorial, "Communists in the Churches." I think it is exactly right.

Washington, D. C. A. POWELL DAVIES

● I saw with utter astonishment your statement on page 6 ("Communists in the Churches," *NR*, April 20) that "Congress has the right to investigate subversion in the churches in its general inquiry into the activities of the Communist Party." I fail to reconcile such a statement with your stand on McCarthy. Say, are you working both sides of the street preparatory to becoming a common-as-mud Tory publication? It looks suspiciously like a carefully planned reversal in policy in the face of the requirement of a change in management. Regardless of any rationalization in regard to the legality of your statement to justify publication of it, just one more statement like that and I will cancel by subscription for good. For such a statement you will get no support in the official publications of either the Unitarian or Universalist denominations. Few Episcopalian publications would dare to publish the like. When the investigation which you support comes to one church in this country, one investigator will be stopped dead in his tracks, if, when, and as. You even drag teachers into the discussion. Did you take up such a hue and cry about Fascists around the early thirties?

In short, remember the fate of George Trimble in Masters' *Spoon River*:

> For the radicals grew suspicious of me,
> And the conservatives were never sure of me—
> And here I lie, unwept of all.

You may shift farther to the Right, but the only result as far as one subscriber is concerned will be that he will shift farther to the Left because of betrayal, and you will have lost an old timer.

Aledo, Ill. CAPT. DONALD L. MACNEAL

● I wish to compliment the *New Republic* for the fine editorial on "Communists in the Churches." That was a *responsible* liberal defense of freedom; it recognized that freedom has to be defended against Communism on all fronts, including the church, while combating assaults on freedom from the Right which are dressed up to look like anti-Communism. No movement can afford to be undermined and least of all the church. The church does have a duty to clean Communist agents out and it should not fear responsible government action.

Silver Spring, Md. L. C. PAKISER

(Continued on page 4)

To Our Readers

● The editorial on "Communists in the Churches" has brought in scores of letters. Many present hard questions and demand replies. They ask: *If you have evidence of Communist infiltration why not print it?* Because the issue is one of principles and not personalities. *Aren't you attacking the freedom of ministers to preach Communist ideals?* Certainly not! There is a world of difference between preaching Communist ideals and belonging to a conspiratorial movement based on violence and deceit. *Why do you deny the rights of Communists to join whatever organization they please?* We will advocate always, I hope, the rights of Communists to form their own organization. They have no right to join other organizations, under false pretenses, in order to subvert them. *Why do you do Velde's work?* We don't. We believe that every voluntary association must preserve its integrity. When it fails Congress moves in.

* * *

Mr. J. H. Deery of San Carlos, Calif., wrote us last week: "Your circulation should be, not 60,000 but 60 million" but "look at you . . . unobtrusive . . . drab."

That raises the whole problem of our publishing formula. The handsome magazines that Mr. Deery enjoys follow one rough formula; on the cost side, printing and paper, circulation fulfillment and promotion, and editorial and overheads, make up about one-third each of the budget. On the income side, the subscribers and newsstand readers just about pay for themselves, that is for printing, paper and circulation costs; advertisers pay for overheads and provide the profits.

Why shouldn't the formula apply to the *NR*? Because we are non-conformist, controversial and militant. Any such magazine is doomed once it choses a format which loses money on every new subscriber and which advertisers alone can support.

We believe today that we deserve publishers' advertising and we hope that publishers will agree. Meanwhile we are staking our future on a subscriber-supported magazine. For that magazine the margin between the price we charge you for the *NR* and the cost of printing and mailing your copy, multiplied by the number of readers, must pay for the rent, the salaries, the articles and reviews. We could make up the margin by charging you more. The alternative is to keep costs down. Unobtrusive — yes. Drab — no. Within our means, we intend to look well-dressed.

M. S.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE ADMINISTRATION is taking two big gambles which the public hardly understands, each a reversal of Truman policy and each possibly fateful. At home the Administration is slapping on anti-inflation brakes by artificially boosting interest rates: it is making it harder for farmers, home-owners, veterans, consumers and business generally to borrow money. This is orthodox, classical, conservative policy to halt inflation; but is the real danger any longer inflation or deflation? It is a crucial question of timing; if the country is already headed toward readjustment, deflation and recession, as many think, the eager conservative action of the Treasury and the Reserve Board will accentuate the trouble, make stability harder, unemployment higher. It will be a year or so yet to know if the Administration gambled the wrong way in this fateful decision.

Abroad the gamble is bigger: in the face of the Moscow threat, the Administration is agreeing to a European defense stretch-out. Dulles is warning Europe of reduced US contributions; he is talking tough to our Allies in contrast to Acheson's conciliatory approach. The goals of the 1952 Lisbon NATO meeting are being postponed to help cut taxes. Is this gamble wise? We may not know for 10 years. Few Americans realize the big reversal is taking place.

Detailed, documented evidence of widespread press bias in the 1952 election brought a little flurry of reform talk and proposals, like that from *Editor & Publisher*, for an objective self-study by the newspapers themselves. The journalistic society Sigma Delta Chi was to make the survey. But a special committee has now killed the plan. Also the national convention of publishers has just been told by a fellow publisher in New York that the press is not monopolistic or biased at all. As contrasted to this, St. Louis *Post Dispatch* editor Irving Dilliard at Brandeis University, April 17, summarized the evidence of a one-party press in a comprehensive and really damning indictment. The bias has not stopped with the election, Dilliard concludes. The press is committed to the success of the party it supported. It doesn't want to play up the scandal of ousted GOP Chairman Roberts; it doesn't want unfavorable facts from wire services in Washington: "Without such facts they would not be bothered with decisions as to what to say, if anything, about such news."

The weekly periodical of the Church of England, it appears, approved the violent hostility of the British press toward McCarthy's young stooges, Cohn and Schine on their London visit. Editorially it observed, "Had the US press shown the same independence and courage from the very beginning there might never have been such a thing as McCarthyism." Exactly—but how can a one-party press attack a man who was denouncing the New Deal and embracing Eisenhower? The almost imperceptible acceptance of the inevitability of McCarthyism for a democracy in its modern anxieties had another fascinating example last week. For an hour and 10 minutes McCarthy, behind closed doors, grilled James Wechsler, liberal editor of the New York *Post*, on his political views. Sensational? The New York *Times* gave the story inside treatment and only a third of a column next day. Who's the next editor to be summoned?

Ike's rejection of the role of leader in dealing with Congress was vividly illustrated in last week's House vote to kill the housing bill. Public housing has been whittled down to only 35,000 new units a year. Some House GOP leaders argued on the floor that Ike really opposes continuing this program; Democrats in vain demanded to know his position. Yet this was an "Administration bill" and the House killed it:

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Republicans voted against housing 176 to 34; Democrats voted for it, 69 to 122. At his press conference next day there was no reproof from Ike. The scene was reminiscent of the press conference where placatory Ike failed to reprove McCarthy for tangling with Dulles and Stassen. Yes, it was true, Ike agreed, he had really favored the bill, but no point of principle was involved, and he was sure the Congressmen had voted according to their conscience. . . . In the long run this self-abdication of leadership toward Congress is probably the most important thing in the Eisenhower Administration. It is an invitation for the most reactionary Republicans to rush into the power vacuum.

Under weak Presidential leadership Congress has frequently encroached upon executive powers. Now it proposes to encroach on judicial powers. For the Supreme Court has thrice ruled that offshore oil belongs to all the people, Congress however proposes to make itself a super-court, reverse the Supreme Court, and pass the give-away bill for the interest of a few states and the big oil companies. Historically this harks back a century or so to the legislature under the Articles of Confederation when delegates happily exercised all three functions, legislative, executive and judicial.

Notes: Orme Lewis, Assistant Secretary of Interior, got the job of telling conservation-minded career veteran Albert Day, Fish & Wildlife Commissioner, that McKay had fired him. "Well, who finally got me," asked Day at length, "the Alaskan canners or the California duck clubs?" Lewis thought it over. "It was a mixture of scales and feathers, Albert," he said. . . . Demolition of the New Deal goes steadily on: "Five Magnesium Plants Ordered Closed by US" is headline on latest AP story. . . . Big-business officials are filling nearly all the posts of the ousted career men: Anaconda Copper got the directorship of the US Bureau of Mines; Sears, Roebuck, the Commerce assistant secretaryship in charge of administration; the American Medical Association takes the health post in Mrs. Hobby's new department.

Washington T.R.B.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 2)

● Your editorial "Communists in the Churches" (*NR*, April 20) is greatly appreciated. You give an accurate and clear presentation of the twin dangers of indifference to possible subversion in the churches and the indiscriminate "branding" of those of the clergy who believe that matters of civil liberty, justice and peace are important concerns in the church's witness.

Portsmouth, Va. THOMAS H. BRITTON

● What a starry-eyed view of the ministry you have! "The minister is freer than any citizen from censure and review. Other suspects may seek refuge in the Fifth Amendment; the minister can draw his robes around him." Having been a minister for 20 years, I should like to ask: what citizen of the country is more subject to censure, review and criticism than a minister? From what and how he wears a tie, to what time he goes to bed or rises, to what he did or did not say in last Sunday's sermon—he is subject to constant surveillance and criticism. When a few in his congregation take umbrage at the way he wears clothes, spends his leisure time, etc. etc—he is asked to seek another parish. Then, too, what robes can he draw around him? Something must be wrong with me—20 years in the ministry and I have not yet found a gossamer veil, to say nothing of a robe, to draw around me. Please elucidate as to these robes, so I may learn where to obtain them. . . .

What could a Communist minister hope to accomplish? Could he preach Communism? Come again! Not only would the offerings drop off, but attendance would drop, members would withdraw their membership, parents would withdraw their children from the Church School—or else, the official governing body of the church would simply ask the minister to leave. Could a Communist minister hope to fool the members of the church? There may be some morons in the average congregation, but there are others also who read books.

A minister preaching the gospel according to Marx would soon be removed from the pulpit of this or that congregation. You make the astonishing suggestion that all Communists in the community would join the church to keep the minister. Huh! How credulous can we be? If such were the case, there soon would be only Communists in the local congregation. Are there enough Communists in any community to form a decent congregation? How long would such a church retain its denominational standing? And if a minister could not preach Communism, how could he hope to aid the Communist cause with any effectiveness? Either in the local church, or in the various conferences and conventions of denominational groupings?. . .

Now, I suppose I should raise my hand and take an oath. Let me, however, say that I do not believe a Communist can be a member of a Christian Church either as minister or as layman. There may be some few who could endure without psychic trauma the mental strains of the Jekyll-Hyde complex. But such would be more likely to induce psychic trauma and render any such increasingly ineffective either as layman or as ministers. . . .

If our churches are ineffective today, as they are in many ways, it is less from hypothetical or actual Communist infiltration, than because too few ministers or laymen subscribe to such magazines as *NR* with its usually fine editorial thinking.

Sturgeon Bay, Wis. EMERSON W. HARRIS

Bandwagon

Alf M. Landon said today that President Eisenhower's Administration had "bungled" almost every major political problem of the first 90 days.

Landon said that was the Administration's "only real weakness."—*From a UP dispatch.*

* * *

Reports of imminent peace in Korea have sent many a stock into a bad tailspin and have added a fleck of gray to the coiffure of officials of many "war baby" manufacturers. But furniture manufacturers in Dixie have not flinched at the development.—*From the New York* Times.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

KOREA: WHAT IS THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROGRAM?

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT thanks President Eisenhower: it is always ready to talk, and it has no intention of agreeing to slit its own throat.

Eisenhower, in his April 16 speech, renounced the doctrine of unconditional surrender and then proposed to apply it to every embattled area in the world. So, area by area, in its reply of April 25, the Soviet Government declines the offer. It does not desire to turn over Eastern Germany to NATO. It does not agree in Eastern Europe to "interfere in favor of installing the reactionary regimes overthrown by these peoples." It sees no reason why China should be represented by Formosa in the United Nations. It declines to utilize its influence "to retard the liberation movement of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples in Asia against their centuries old oppression and enslavement." It notes that "the President deemed it necessary to tie up his proposals regarding peace with a whole series of preliminary conditions set by him to the Soviet Union although these claims have not been reinforced by any corresponding obligations on the part of the USA." It concludes that the President's one-sided demands:

> . . . could not fail to cause astonishment in the minds of people capable of a realistic assessment both of the international problems ripe for solution and the actual relationship between the forces and the factors which determine the international situation.

This is the logical response of a strong and hostile regime to a speech which fell between a set of realistic offers to those now in power in Russia and an appeal to some dissident group to attempt a *coup d'etat*. It assumed weakness in the Kremlin, and yet if the Soviet regime were so weakened as to accept Eisenhower's proposals as the basis of discussion, it would be better not to bolster it by the recognition of legitimacy that negotiation confers.

The Soviet regime is not yet weakened. It is strong enough to reassert its traditional terms for "peace." Today's terms for the Russians are a division of the world, at least temporarily, in which Germany alone is to be held in limbo as a neutral state, and Eastern Europe and China are conceded to the Communist side. These conditions may emerge in time through Soviet strength but they will not be underwritten now by the West.

II

The long-range objective is obscure in our relations with the Communists; so is the immediate future. The first step, as Eisenhower declared, is to end the fighting in Korea. But we are still far from a truce.

For while the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners was encouraging no general principle concerning the repatriation of all prisoners was conceded by the Communists. They maintain that "apprehension" rather than "coercion" is the reason why 14,000 out of 21,000 Chinese prisoners, and 35,000 out of 111,000 North Koreans are unwilling to return to their Communist homelands. They are ready to see these men shipped off to a neutral country where they may linger for an indefinite period while Communist representatives may attempt to persuade them that their apprehensions are groundless. But they refuse to concede that one man among this group must not sooner or later be delivered to them. In their view there is only one exit from the compounds, and it faces North.

Why the Communists agreed to the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners is unclear. It may be that they are searching for some face-saving terms on which we could end the war, just as we have searched for a face-saving device for them. It seems probable that they cannot bring themselves to believe that we are willing to continue a costly war to protect the preferences of 14,000 Chinese prisoners. In contrast, they believe, the prisoner issue brings into focus a basic Communist conviction—that the state power is undermined if individual citizens are permitted to slip from its grip.

If, for this reason, the talks again break down at Panmunjom, are we ready for what may follow? A tightening of the blockade is not an effective means of bringing China to its knees. A military offensive in Korea would be shocking to citizens who voted to bring American boys home. Once again General MacArthur offers the delusion of quick and total victory—this time to be achieved by bombing China. A nation exasperated by deadlock and rubbed raw by accounts of Communist atrocities might not care to reflect on the consequences of MacArthur's proposals. For we can afford only those threats that we are ready to carry out, and this bluff, if called, would no doubt find us unready and alone, in a third world war.

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If instead the Communists move toward an accommodation in Korea and the prisoner issue is settled, are we prepared then for a truce? We are governed by Eisenhower's demand for prompt discussions "leading to the holding of free elections in a united Korea." This concept, of Syngman Rhee and Kim Il Sun staging a trial between Communism and representative government among ruined cities and people without food, clothing or shelter is tragically misconceived.

And yet the unification of Korea is the one issue on which North and South Koreans agree. The North Koreans cannot openly surrender the propaganda appeal of unification. Nor can the Russians and Chinese surrender to a hostile Western territory around the Yalu River. The proposal attributed to Secretary Dulles, that the war be settled by a boundary line drawn at Korea's waist is equally unacceptable to the Communists. For North Korea's capital, its industries and seven million of its eight million citizens live South of the waist. In the mountains to the North, there is no basis for a viable state.

Neither the North nor South Koreans can accept permanent division of their country; and neither the Communists nor the West can risk the unification of Korea now. For these reasons it seems probable that if the firing dies down in Korea, the present lines, enforced by the present armies must remain.

If this interpretation of the Soviet note, and the negotiations at Panmunjom is sound, then it implies the need for major revision in the attitudes of the Eisenhower Administration.

One basic purpose of the Eisenhower Administration is to disengage US forces in the Far East, leaving Asians to fight Asians. If peace were possible in Korea, this aim would be proper. But if the prospect is one of stalemate, we cannot pull out. There is not, at present, in South Korea the leadership, the skills, the resources, the will to live, which can protect the Republic against Soviet pressures once we leave. The blunders of 1946 can be repeated all too easily by this Congress. The demonstrations in the streets of Korea attest to the desperate and understandable fear of the South Koreans that we may desert them.

On a larger scale, the entire campaign of the Administration and the Republicans in Congress to reduce the scale of our military spending and our overseas aid can destroy what hopes there are of reaching accommodations with the Russians. Soviet leaders recognize and respect strength. As long as the primary aim of Congress is tax reduction, and the main energies of the Administration are devoted to cutting schedules of military production, the Russian need only encourage us with sweet words while their own military build-up continues and in Pravda's own phrase, "The actual relationship between the forces and the factors which determine the international situation" shifts towards the Soviet side.

THE WEEK

"FULL AND FAIR DEBATE"

At the end of the nineteenth day of debate on the off-shore oil issue, Senator Taft announced that those in favor of granting to the states title to the tidelands had spoken 150,000 words, those in opposition, 900,000 words. Southerners traditionally on the delivering end of Senate filibusters were delightfully calling attention to the fact that the outpouring of oratory was from ardent anti-filibusterers.

What moral ground was there for these tactics by such supporters of reasonable limitation on debate as Senators Douglas, Lehman, Humphrey and Morse? The following excerpts from Senator Lehman's remarks on April 20 reflect the reasoning of this group:

To filibuster means to engage in prolonged and generally irrelevant debate in the hope of blocking action on a particular measure. . . . It is a method of frustrating the majority in its will to act, not at any certain time, but at any time whatever. . . . Those who engage in a filibuster have no alternative proposal. . . . We are not engaging in a filibuster. It is not our purpose to prevent a vote on the pending measure. It it our purpose to get a vote on the Anderson bill [to allot a proportion of income from tidelands oil to the states] and on the Hill amendment [to use revenue from tidelands oil for education] which we wholeheartedly desire to be enacted.

Unfortunately neither the press nor other media of communication have carried the debates. . . . We have been getting greater press coverage within the past few days and because [of this] we are now getting a reaction from the American people. . . . All I want is that . . . people shall know what is attempted here . . . because . . . this is the greatest give-away program ever undertaken in the history of the world; and I cannot help but oppose it with all the strength I possess.

We do not want to delay important business of the Senate. . . . We offer to lay the pending resolution aside so that the [Majority Leader] may call up other important legislation. . . . At the very beginning of this session, a number of us proposed to adopt a rule for fair and reasonable limitation on debate. We did not succeed in this move. . . . The cloture rule I proposed would permit 20 days of debate on a question such as the pending one. Actually 40

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days, since, in most cases it would be necessary to invoke cloture both on the motion to take up and on the pending legislation as well. Our debate has proceeded only 13 days, and hence nowhere near the number of days that would be permitted even under the limitation I have proposed. . . .

I am not saying that debates of interminable length are justified. Depending on the importance of the question and the amount of information that needs to be discussed, a debate should point . . . toward a vote. I am for an effective cloture rule. . . . I would at any time support a motion to bring up a change in the rules. I challenge the majority leader to make such a motion—now, tomorrow, or at anytime.

ABOVE AND BEYOND

At President Eisenhower's last news conference reporters present were particularly interested in foreign trade. Although the President has repeatedly insisted that expanded trade is necessary to the very survival of this nation and of its allies, many of the Republicans he carried into office disagree, and a number of recent developments have cast doubt on his intentions. For example, the President proposed no "bold, new" steps to expand trade, but confined himself to a modest request that the present Reciprocal Trade Agreement be extended for one year complete with the peril-point provisions and the escape clauses which largely nullify the minimum trade liberalization the Agreement was meant to obtain. His modesty, however, seems little appreciated; Rep. Richard M. Simpson (R, Pa.) has introduced a bill adding a mass of restrictions and qualifications sought by high tariff advocates to the already innocuous Agreement. So the reporters asked the President if he would reject the Simpson Bill. He could not, said the President, give an "unequivocal" answer. Would he then, asked the press, support repeal of a depression-spawned measure which has lately caused a substantial drop in crucial United States farm exports—the Buy American Act? He could not, said the President, give a "catagorical" answer. What, then, of Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson's failure to accept a low British bid on electrical equipment for Chief Joseph Dam? The President thought Wilson's decision "very proper." Well, had the President been fully informed of the views of Joseph E. Talbot—a high-tariff advocate—before appointing him to the Federal Tariff Commission. No, said the President.

So the reporters moved on to other topics: they asked about dismissals of career government servants from non-policy-making posts. The President said his Cabinet was composed of the finest people he could find, that he knew they had no desire to get rid of a person just for the sake of change, particularly career people, that he didn't expect them to conduct a vendetta for any reason, partisan or otherwise; but so far as firings for patronage reasons, if they had occurred he was unaware of it because that held no interest for him.

Rather desperately, it seemed, someone asked if, in contrast to his campaign statements, he approved of a recent refusal by the Republican majority of the House to appropriate funds for completion of the public-housing program. Well no, said the President, he did not approve. But that did not mean he had asked the House to support his position. He had made no attempt to do that.

JUST READJUSTMENTS

In an address before an annual Associated Press luncheon in New York, ringing like a soap commercial rather than an economic appraisal, Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey launched a psychological appeal to our ruffled emotions by asserting: "There is no reason to fear peace. We are not headed for a depression."

Following such comforting declarations, the Secretary made a far less quoted acknowledgement: "There will be readjustments, of course . . . sometimes to the advantage or detriment of one group or sometimes to another."

If the readjustments which have been made by the Treasury since Humphrey assumed office last January are as indicative of the future as many economists believe, the detriment may be heavily in one direction. The most drastic readjustment was the recent 30-percent increase in interest rates on a $1-billion, 30-year government bond issue. The increase was so "advantageous" to life insurance companies, banks and other wealthy investors that the issue was oversubscribed five times. There will be more issues to which they can subscribe, however. By the time the entire national debt matures it is expected that the total interest rate increase to service the national debt will cost the taxpayer one-half a billion dollars more each year.

The New York *Times* reports that the increase is a forerunner to a general rise in interest rates, meaning that all borrowing will be more costly. The current US private debt is $330 billion. A three-fourths of one-percent rise—equivalent to the bond issue increase—would enrich banks and loan companies by $2.5 billion each year.

The question being asked about the rate increase is: "Is it necessary?" The Treasury said it was required to combat a threat of inflation. A growing group of conservative economists are taking issue. Dr. Marcus Nadler, of New York University, for example, announced that: "There was no need for the recent adoption of a deflationary debt management policy by the Treasury, since inflationary forces have to a large extent run their course."

The path has also been paved for an added bonanza to the large financial houses. The House Appropriations Committee sought to compel the Federal National Mortgage Association to make available $1 billion of the FHA and the VA held mortgages to large financial houses at a discount. The House voted to make the action optional, but the Housing and Home Finance Agency director, for the first time, in consultation with the Treasury, is expected to make this lush arrangement possible. In the past the FNMA never disposed of mortgages at a loss, preferring to keep them to maturity at a profit to the government.

If Humphrey succeeds in making the 50-cent dollar worth 100 cents, banks and investment houses will have still another "advantage." Loans or installment purchases made on the basis of the 50-cent dollar will become twice as burdensome to repay with a 100-cent dollar.

Apparently one group will share the "advantages" while another will share the "detriment."

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EISENHOWER PROPOSES . . .

In March, 1952, Harry T. Truman asked Congress to allow 300,000 European refugees into the United States over a three-year period. Congress ignored his request. Now President Eisenhower asks that 240,000 be permitted to enter in two years. If Congress acts differently this time, what will be its motive?

Both Truman and Eisenhower gave precisely the same reasons for admission of refugees: the action would conform both to our finest traditions and to our present position as the only nation capable of absorbing an influx which to the already over-populated nations of Europe presents a growing political and economic threat. A change in the attitude of Congress, then, would probably stem from a temptation to which the Congress regularly succumbs—the substitution of stop-gap measures for basic legislation.

In the past that tendency has been partly neutralized by firm Presidential leadership. Where the need for basic legislation, or for the revision of basic legislation, was pressing, the Executive took pains to place before Congress, again and again, specific proposals for such legislation or revision. The basic legislation involved here is the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act. Eisenhower has labeled it unjust and called for revision, but he has proposed no revisions. Even this emergency proposal concerning refugees is completely general and leaves all the details to Congress in contrast to the specific program offered by Truman in 1952. In view of Eisenhower's abdication of responsibility, the US Congress may pass this emergency measure as a substitute for revision of an immigration law which makes such stop-gaps necessary—a law based on the unrealistic and unworkable "national quota" concept. Eisenhower admits the law "does, in fact, discriminate" on racial grounds. Here again is an opportunity for "actions, not words."

PRISONERS EXCHANGED

The last of the 139 sick and wounded prisoners of war crossed the lines into Munsan on April 27. To the North there remain, according to Communist declarations, 3,100 US prisoners, 1,000 UN prisoners and 7,700 South Koreans. Many of these may be more gravely ill than those now freed, for the Geneva Convention, under which the exchange was completed, provides that only prisoners "fit to travel" may be moved.

The prisoners brought many stories of atrocities. Almost without exception they concerned the first six months of the Korean War. The deliberate cruelties were inflicted by North Koreans, keyed to a quick victory, and infuriated by our frustration of their plans. Other cruelties resulted from the long forced marches accompanying retreating armies. When the Chinese entered the war they brought a wholly different concept of treating prisoners, based on their exploitation for political warfare.

Many prisoners, thinking of comrades left in Communist hands, refused to talk. Senator Bridges was not so reticent. He demanded that all evidence be gathered for prosecution at future trials of war criminals. This amounted to an incentive to the Communists to let the remaining prisoners die rather than to return them to provide more evidence.

COLONEL McCORMICK'S EMPIRE

Obscured by the great debate over oil tidelands has been the fact that a vassal of the McCormick newspaper empire now heads the Office of Territories in the US Department of the Interior.

William C. Strand, until recently the executive city editor of Colonel McCormick's Washington *Times-Herald*, has under him such realms as Alaska, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and American Samoa. Yet Strand's only visible qualifications for this vital job seem to be a slavish acceptance of the McCormick journalistic line.

In 1947 Strand migrated to Juneau, Alaska, to cover territorial legislative developments for the Chicago *Tribune*. He cabled home dispatches which were vigorously hostile to statehood and to the principle advocate of statehood, ex-Governor Ernest Gruening. Strand later became managing editor of the Fairbanks *News-Miner*, a reactionary Alaskan newspaper not greatly different in policy from the *Tribune*. Although the people of Alaska had voted decisively in favor of statehood at a referendum, the *News-Miner* and Strand continued to insist that statehood would not serve Alaska's best interests.

The placing of the Office of Territories under a McCormick newspaper reporter synchronizes well with other recent McKay appointments. Edward Woozley, an Idaho Republican politician who ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1950, is the new Director of the Bureau of Land Management. A Crown-Zellerbach paper executive from Seattle, John L. Farley, has succeeded the scholarly Albert Day as Director of the Fish and Wildlife Service.

Fanaticism

"The inhumanity of fanaticism does not lie chiefly in the conscientious crimes which it dictates here and there; it lies rather in the miserable imaginary end itself, for the sake of which those crimes are committed. A 'truth', a 'salvation', a 'Kultur', which wars and persecutions hope to diffuse is presumably spurious. Men presently will cry out to be saved from that salvation and enlightened out of that truth; they will gasp to escape from the heavy regimen of that Kultur, so as to see this green world for themselves, and live and learn after their own fashion.

"If the end does not justify the means, it is because this end is too often worthless, or at least no more valuable than what it bids us renounce for its sake. Nothing will repay a man for becoming inhuman. The aim of life is some way of living, as flexible and gentle as human nature; so that ambition may stoop to kindness, and philosophy to candor and to humor.

"Neither prosperity nor empire nor heaven can be worth winning at the price of a virulent temper, bloody hands, an anguished spirit, and a vain hatred of the rest of the world." George Santayana, in the *New Republic*, November 28, 1914.

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WAS THERE A DEAL IN THE ASTIN CASE?

by Scientist Q

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE Sinclair Weeks issued a statement to the press on April 17 announcing that Dr. Allen V. Astin would be retained as director of the National Bureau of Standards until certain studies of the Bureau's operations had been completed this summer or early fall. Unsatisfactory though this gesture is, it marks the closing of the first act in one of the strangest tragi-comedies in the history of American politics. What will happen in the coming acts remains to be seen. What happened in the prologue (the period between Weeks' appointment as Secretary of Commerce and April 17) may never be revealed unless a rigorous, thorough Congressional inquiry is held.

The drama opened publicly with the revelation by Drew Pearson on the morning of March 31 that Astin had been summoned by Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic Affairs, Craig Sheaffer, the preceding week. At this conference, Astin was severely criticized by Sheaffer on the Bureau's tests of the battery dope known as AD-X2 and was asked to submit his resignation within three days.

On the same afternoon, Weeks appeared before the Select Committee on Small Business of the Senate. His prepared statement was devoted to three topics: advocacy of AD-X2, criticism of the Bureau, and the declaration of the policy of *caveat emptor*. Weeks' testimony, which he read to the Senate Committee, is remarkable for its undisguised advocacy of the manufacturer's claims for AD-X2 and for its errors.

Weeks indicated that even before coming to Washington his mail "was heavy with people telling me that an outfit in Oakland, California, making a product called AD-X2 to prolong battery life through reducing sulfation was having tough sledding in Washington." Who were the "people" is an interesting question in view of the fact that the manufacturer had conducted a violent campaign through his distributors to bring pressure on the Bureau through at least 28 Senators. It is also curious that Weeks refers casually to the manufacturer—"an outfit in Oakland"—while exhibiting, for one who later calls himself "not a man of science," an unusual familiarity with technical claims for the product. It is also known that, while he refused to see Astin, whether on this issue or on important matters affecting the Bureau's program, he and members of his office were in close touch throughout this period with the AD-X2 promoter and his proponents.

Of eight numbered paragraphs in the first part of Weeks' testimony, not one can stand rigorous examination. Weeks makes several allusions to difficulties the manufacturer encountered in getting the Bureau to make tests. In the first place, the Bureau does not test products except for agencies of the federal government. In the second place, the manufacturer had used this gambit as one of his weapons in attacking the Bureau—namely, that his product was an exception to certain general statements made about sodium and magnesium sulfates by the Bureau, because he claimed the Bureau had not tested his material. His product had in fact been tested by that time, and he knew it. Yet the false statement was made in his campaign that involved the 28 Senators and the National Better Business Bureau.

Another of Weeks' points is that the manufacturer never had a fair test. The truth is that tests identical to those that had proved satisfactory over a period of some 30 years had been made. In addition, in the summer of 1952, as a result of the pressures brought to bear upon the Bureau by various of the 28 Senators and the Senate Small Business Committee, the Bureau ran the manufacturer's own test. This test confirmed prior findings. When these results were made known to the Senate Small Business Committee and the manufacturer, the latter promptly claimed that the test had been vitiated by changes made by the Bureau. Some minor changes were made to simplify the test and to ascertain that the results would be experimentally and statistically valid. The manufacturer had been informed of the minor modifications prior to the test. Proof that he did not consider them vitiating is afforded by his own actions at that time: he examined the batteries to be used and approved them as mechanically sound and properly sulfated; his representative witnessed the tests; and he and his representative participated in one of the key features of his test—the "scratch" test wherein plates in treated cells become soft and workable in contrast to plates in untreated cells, which remain hard. The ratings of plates by the manufacturer and his agent showed that they themselves could not tell the difference.

Without further analysis of Weeks' statement, it can be said that his position is one of complete advocacy of the manufacturer and of complete denial of the Bureau's careful scientific findings. So much so, indeed, does Weeks espouse the manufacturer's cause, that his very words often sound like those used by the manufacturer in his attacks on the Bureau.

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In the interval of time between March 31 and April 17, when Weeks announced that Astin would be retained for a while, the press, particularly the Washington *Post* and *Evening Star,* reported the events and facts to the public in news stories and editorials. Meanwhile scientists and scientific societies took up the issues. Members of the staff at the National Bureau of Standards also took a firm stand. On April 12, 50 key scientists, largely in the Bureau's nuclear physics sections, announced their intention to resign. A few days later, the results of a secret poll by the Bureau's division chiefs indicated that 397 key scientists and engineers would leave in the course of time if the situation remained uncorrected.

On April 17, Weeks released a statement to the press announcing that Astin would be retained temporarily as director and that several committees would study various aspects of the Bureau's work. The first incomplete notices of this announcement appeared to placate the staff of the Bureau, but the full text of Weeks' statement revealed that vindication was still distant.

Weeks' remarks about Dr. Astin are one of the disquieting aspects about the statement. In its 52 years' history, the Bureau has been untouched by political appointments, and Dr. Astin is only the fifth director of the Bureau. Yet Weeks stated that "no question is involved of Dr. Astin's permanent retention . . ." and that he has asked the Bureau's Visiting Committee "to make a canvass and bring forward a panel of names from which I shall expect to select a new Director of the Bureau." To Astin he threw the following sop: "There will be a position of comparable grade available in the government. . . ."

The present or proposed formation of three committees is revealed by Weeks' statement. First, there is to be a committee headed by Dr. M. J. Kelly, President of Bell Telephone Laboratories, to "evaluate the present functions and operations of the Bureau of Standards in relation to the present national needs." The membership of the committee, in addition to Dr. Kelly, is to consist of seven members chosen by seven scientific and engineering societies. Second, the Bureau's Visiting Committee is to provide a panel of names, from which the next director is to be chosen. Third, the National Academy of Sciences is to appoint a committee "to objectively appraise the quality of the Bureau's work in this particular AD-X2 area, this study to include tests, both laboratory and field."

It is difficult to see what useful purpose will be served by these committees at this time: they may have been useful before Astin's dismissal in saving the Secretary from his subsequent errors. The review of the Bureau's work by the Kelly committee can only be repetitious, for the Bureau has been reviewed often and regularly. The Visiting Committee, established by law for this purpose, is charged with annual review of the Bureau's activities and operations. The Committee consists of five distinguished scientists: Dr. R. F. Mehl, Dr. D. H. Menzel, Dr. D. W. Bronk, Dr. J. H. Van Vleck and Dr. M. J. Kelly. The last review by this Committee was made in the Spring of 1952. Their report, which Secretary Weeks has not released to the public, contains no criticism of the Bureau's technical program or management. Rather, it calls on the Department of Commerce for added support for the Bureau's basic activities.

In addition to this annual review, the Bureau has several special committees concerned with specific areas of activity—including mathematics, radio, metallurgy and mineral products. Some of these committees meet as often as quarterly, and all are directly concerned with appraising the particular fields under their cognizance. Moreover, three years ago the Bureau was subject to a rigorous going-over by the House Committee on Appropriations. Four expert consultants were sent to the Bureau, where they proceeded to set up their offices for a period of six months. Their exhaustive examination revealed not a single weakness in the technical programs underway nor with their management.

Accordingly, it is questionable that Secretary Weeks is likely to discover new facts of interest in the program itself or in its administrative conduct, which have been essentially stable. Perhaps Weeks has his eye on the Bureau's defense activities. Ever since World War I, the Bureau has made important contributions to the nation's defense efforts. In World War II, for example, the three major projects were proximity fuses, guided missiles and the atomic bomb itself. Major activities are underway in all three areas at the present time for the Department of Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission. The ordnance program bulks largest, totaling some $35 million for the present fiscal year, of which about a half is sub-contracted to industry. Yet this program, too, has been carefully reviewed by the Department of Defense: one of these reviews involved a top industry board, whose evaluation was highly commendatory to the Bureau.

The proposed National Academy of Sciences Committee to review battery additive AD-X2 is intended, according to Secretary Weeks, not only to study the Bureau's work in this field but to conduct tests, "both laboratory and field." Such duplication of effort is technically unnecessary. At the present time, there exist adequate data so that such a committee need do no more than review the Bureau's data and reports, go over the scientifically naïve report of MIT on this subject, and glance at the incredible comments of Dr. Keith J. Laidler, which take

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the form of interpretations of the MIT report prepared by him for the Senate Small Business Committee. It is worth noting that Dr. Laidler's colleagues at Catholic University repudiated any association with him last week.

Finally, there is the assignment meted out to the Bureau's Visiting Committee: to suggest a list of names from which the Secretary of Commerce will choose a new director. Why? The only charge levelled against Astin was in connection with AD-X2. If the committee reviewing this work brings in a report confirming the integrity of the Bureau's activity and his role in it, then what is the purpose of a change if it is not strictly political? This is, of course, precisely the issue involved. It is this issue —the intrusion of politics into science, the breach of 52 years' precedent during which the Bureau's directorship has never been tainted by political considerations—that is uppermost in the minds of scientists everywhere. That there is no basis for any criticism of Astin is now admitted by Weeks in his own statements on April 17.

Scientists may well take alarm at this whole approach to the crisis at the National Bureau of Standards. It is curious that Weeks concluded his statement of April 17 with the following sentence: "Under the present difficult circumstances, the Visiting Committee of the National Bureau of Standards believes this program, the work of the three committees, the proposed appointment of the new director the best practicable solution to the problem." Secretary Weeks does not explain who was responsible for "the present difficult circumstances," but this is not needed, for who but he created the fantastic situation? However, the fact that the Visiting Committee has acquiesced in the issuance of the above statement is disturbing, and the public is entitled to know what went on when Weeks met with this committee last week.

The public is also entitled to know what went on in the Secretary's various conversations with Dr. M. J. Kelly, President of Bell Telephone Laboratories, a part of A. T. & T. Dr. Kelly is a member of the Bureau's Visiting Committee. Yet this committee was not summoned until after Weeks had met with Kelly and formed the Kelly review committee. Scientists and the public will do well not only to inquire into what went on between Kelly and Weeks but to watch Kelly in this operation, for he has already revealed curious attitudes toward the whole affair. On April 3, Dr. Kelly told the Washington *Evening Star* that he did not want to comment on the Astin dismissal because, "I'm friendly to this Administration and I don't want to say anything that would make its work more difficult." Two days later, on April 5, Dr. Kelly said to the Washington *Post* that his review group "would have nothing to do with the Astin case or the 'battery nostrum'."

In view of the important role that Kelly has already played behind the scenes during the last few weeks, in view of his chairmanship of the general review committee, his membership on the Visiting Committee, and his influence on even the third committee dealing with AD-X2 (by virtue of his membership in the National Academy of Sciences and his many influential contacts), such statements as those above cannot be ignored. There is danger that a "deal" has been made, involving the sacrificial offering of Astin and possible tampering with the Bureau's work to save Weeks' face.

Rumors that something of this kind has already been arranged are supported by signs that consciences are not clear. Dr. Robert F. Mehl, director of the Carnegie Institute of Technology metals research laboratory and chairman of the Bureau's Visiting Committee betrays this in the statement he made to the press on April 18:

> I should like to say that I have completely disapproved of the manner in which the Astin affair has been handled by the Department of Commerce from the very beginning. Under the present very difficult circumstances, however, I believe the solution proposed by Secretary Weeks is the only practical solution, and for the sake of the nation I most sincerely hope the scientists and engineers employed by the government will accept it.

On the surface it does look as though the arguments that have been used to steam-roller Weeks' plans have been two-fold: first, let's not embarrass the Administration and, second, the good of the nation demands this procedure. It is reminiscent of what has often happened in academic committees where decent men have been forced to take an action that they themselves did not believe in, were ashamed of, and could not discuss, having been sworn to secrecy. In the present case, however, it is likely that any "compromise" along Weeks' lines will result in further embarrassment to the Administration and a serious weakening of the nation's federal research programs. No one who knows the temper of Bureau scientists believes that the top men will continue to work there if this "compromise" is sustained.

If the Astin affair is not to come as a tragic conclusion, however, the eyes of every scientist, every engineer, and every citizen must be deliberately focused on what Weeks' three committees will do in the coming weeks. What these committees do will probably constitute the substance of Act 2 of Weeks' tragi-comedy. And what happens in Act 2 will determine the events in the third Act—the entry of politics into science with the destruction of the National Bureau of Standards or the firm exclusion of politics from science with its concomitant saving of the Bureau and unqualified restoration of Astin to the directorship.

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BEHIND THE COMMITTEE DOORS:

Senatorial questioning of key Eisenhower appointees is bringing out sharp contradictions between the stated policies of the President and the views of men he has chosen to administer them. Reports of these differences have not found their way into the press. Some of the most revealing committee hearings have been printed only after the appointee was confirmed and in one case the transcript has not been published at all.

An important issue of principle is involved in these selections, as Sen. Herbert Lehman (D, N.Y.) explained to his colleagues on the Committee on Banking and Currency during one such hearing. "I cannot help but express some concern," Senator Lehman announced, "at the appointment by the President of men to administer agencies existing by virtue of Congressional action when they very clearly have their reservations about the usefulness of the agencies, who in some cases have declared their opposition in enmity to the purposes of the agencies. . . . It seems to me that so long as agencies exist by virtue of Congressional action, the men who administer them should be at least friendly or have a completely open mind with regard to them."

In the following pages, we present sections of the official testimony before Senate committees by three key officials in the Eisenhower crusade, all of whom express conflicts with Eisenhower about the role or usefulness of the agencies they are to head.

I.

Albert M. Cole—

As Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, is, by law, responsible for the administration of all "housing and home finance functions of the federal government," including the low-rent public-housing program.

The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Homer Capehart (Ind.) Chairman, presiding, questioned Mr. Cole on March 2, 1953.

SENATOR BRICKER: Mr. Cole, this whole program was originally instituted to get housing and make it easier to finance housing. . . . When the time comes, and as we approach it, do you feel that the government ought to get more and more out of the program of financing; more out of the program of secondary markets for mortgages and the like and leave it to the free economy of the country to do the building as they always had previous to this experience in housing?

MR. COLE: Senator, as conditions warrant it I believe the government should gradually get out of the housing business. I think government should support housing and not supplant it—support the housing industry; the people who are building houses. . . .

SENATOR IVES: . . . Mr. Cole, are you still opposed to public housing?

MR. COLE: Senator, let me say this: I certainly am opposed to some of the aspects of public housing.

* * * * *

SENATOR IVES: . . . How do you feel on segregation in public housing?

MR. COLE: I think that the matter of segregation is a very, very difficult problem. . . . For myself, I am not in accord with segregation. Not at all. . . .

SENATOR MAYBANK: Are you going to violate the state laws where the colored people and the white people want such segregation?

SENATOR COLE: No.

* * * * *

SENATOR SPARKMAN: To be perfectly frank with you, Mr. Cole, the thing that has disturbed me has not been so much your opposition to public housing—you have always made yourself quite clear on that. . . . The thing that disturbs me most is the fact that you were against the entire housing program in 1949. In other words, it was not just public housing, but you voted against the whole bill. The major part of the housing program which you will be called upon to administer was covered by that bill or that law, against which you voted. . . .

MR. COLE: . . . I outlined eight objections to the bill. Eight of them and not four. One of them was slum clearance, by the way. I said that some people were using a program of slum clearance as a vehicle—and I am not quoting—to secure the adoption of other and extraneous legislation. And I still believe it has been used for that to a certain extent. . . .

SENATOR SPARKMAN: Here is that quote that was taken from your speech in the House on June 22, 1949, page 8308 of the *Congressional Record*. I am not going to read all of it, but . . . here is the thing that concerned me most:

> There is a slender, almost indistinguishable thread running through this entire bill. That thread is government control of the individual family life, the individual home, the individual. Read the bill carefully from the beginning. The declaration of policy through the slum-clearance proposition through the low-rent plan, down through the research program and finally to the farm housing, in which the farmers are represented and you will then find, Mr. Chairman, that this thread may become so strong as to strangle the people of America.

* * * * *

SENATOR SPARKMAN: . . . If you become the Administrator, will it be your purpose to recommend the removal of any part of that law? I mean, the various activities. Or will it be your intent that you continue the over-all program—to administer it according to the laws laid down by the Congress? Would you recommend that public housing be stricken or that slum clearance be stricken or that farm housing or research or any of the other divisions be stricken from the law?

MR. COLE: As of today, definitely, no. Now, Senator, do not tie me down on what I may do in the future.

(March 6) SENATOR DOUGLAS: I think the clearing of the slums carries with it an obligation to provide for them in some measure. . . . I was not at all satisfied that Mr. Cole was sufficiently sympathetic to this point of view to be able to overcome his honest, personal opposition to such housing. . . . Therefore, I shall reluctantly have to vote against him.

* * * * *

SENATOR SPARKMAN: . . . The public-housing law as passed by Congress called for 135,000 units a year with the privilege of the President to lower or to raise it to meet economic conditions. The President, in his budget recommendation the year before last, and also last year, recommended 75,000 units. Congress, I believe last year authorized 35,000 and the previous year 50,000. Both years you voted to cut it to 5,000. . . .

MR. COLE: Definitely I voted against it and have no apology for it. . . . What I am trying to do is give you my reasons for objections and say to you that if I had

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The Appointees Refute the Promises

the opportunity, I could vote for and would vote for and support most vigorously an expanding housing program. I think we have been static in our housing program. I think we can go ahead with one of the greatest housing programs that this country has ever seen and I believe in it and I think it can be done within the realm of maintaining liberty for the people. That is what I want to do.

* * * * *

SENATOR DOUGLAS: This is really the doubt that has concerned me ever since your name came up: Can an honest man who is sincerely doubtful about or disbelieving in public housing, put aside his honest opposition when these administrative decisions come up. . . . Generally, you want someone who is sympathetic with the purposes of a title, to administer that title. That is the point.

MR. COLE: If I were completely unsympathetic with the need to help low-income people obtain low-rental units, yes. . . . I am not only not unsympathetic, I am tremendously interested in securing that sort of thing. . . .

SENATOR DOUGLAS: Are you sympathetic to having their needs met in part at least through public housing?

MR. COLE: Through a form of public assistance, yes. . . . I do not mean to put them in welfare programs. I believe there is a way we can expand the program.

SENATOR DOUGLAS: Without public housing?

MR. COLE: The term "public housing" I still do not like.

SENATOR DOUGLAS: Well, it happens to be in the act.

* * * * *

II.

Edward F. Howrey—

As Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission is ordered, by law, "to prevent the free enterprise system from being stifled or fettered by monopoly or corrupted by unfair or deceptive trade practices."

The Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Charles W. Tobey (N.H.) chairman, presiding, questioned Mr. Howrey on March 18, 1953.

THE CHAIRMAN (Senator Tobey): Mr. Howrey's nomination is to the FTC to succeed John Carson. He succeeds a good man, in my judgment, a man who had the public interest at heart, the consumer interest. I cite that, Mr. Howrey, because I think that is the big job I have to do, and you, too, have to do, to remember the consumer interest. You have a biographical sketch. Without objection, it will be inserted in the record at this point.

Lawyer, 49 years old. . . . Specializes in Federal Trade Commission and antitrust cases. . . . From 1937 to date: Partner in firm, Sanders, Gravelle, Whitlock & Howrey. . . . Firm has represented, among others, Aircraft Screw Products, Alcea Indians, American Gum Importers Association, American Publishing Co., Automatic Canteen Company of America, Brick & Tile Sales Co., Evans Pipe Co., the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., Handcraft Co., Hulman & Co., Kelling Nut Co., Kimbell Candy Co., Knox Class Associates, Ludens, Inc., Miller Pecan Co., Mississippi Lime Co., National Smelting Co., Pacific Clay Products, Peanut & Nut Salters Association, Permold Co., John Plain & Co., Reflectal Corp., Robinson Clay Products Co., Southeastern Clays, Inc., Sterling Aluminum Products Institute, Vitreous Steel Products, Washburn Candy Co., and Werthan Bag Corp. . . .

* * * * *

SENATOR COOPER: Mr. Howrey, in reading your biographical sketch, it is indicated that as a member of the firm of Sanders, Gravelle, Whitlock & Howrey, you have represented, at times some 25 or 30 companies. You have stated in the future if those companies should be before the Commission, you would, of course, probably disqualify yourself. The letter that is before us from the National Candy Wholesalers Association, Inc., the writer states in the fourth paragraph that there are present orders against his former clients; is that correct?

MR. HOWREY: Yes. . . . There is an order against my client. It is now pending in the Supreme Court.

SENATOR COOPER: Are there orders against other clients that you have represented?

MR. HOWREY: Yes, there are.

SENATOR COOPER: What would be your attitude toward the enforcement of those orders against—

MR. HOWREY: I would feel there, as I do with the case pending for the first time, that I should disqualify myself in every respect.

* * * * *

SENATOR MAGNUSON: Being a lawyer, I can understand how, as Senator Cooper said, you can assume the robes and be abstract, as far as the law is concerned. But . . . I do think we have a very serious question here. You have represented people in opposition to FTC rulings or orders or citations for the past 20 years; is that right?

MR. HOWREY: Yes. It has not been my entire practice.

* * * * *

SENATOR MAGNUSON: . . . What bothers me is, I can't conceive of any important case involving policy that would come before the Commission that you haven't at some time in the past expressed your opinion on in a brief or as an advocate.

MR. HOWREY: As an advocate—

SENATOR MAGNUSON: I am afraid that you might be on a vacation almost permanently down there.

MR. HOWREY: I think not, Senator, because I would be surprised if other appointments to other commissions than the FTC had not had more business than I had.

* * * * *

SENATOR MAGNUSON: There are very serious questions of policy involved here which are going to constantly come before you. And let's be practical about it. That Commission is usually divided two and two, is it not?

MR. HOWREY: They have divided on some recent controversial issues. . . .

SENATOR MAGNUSON: What if the "quantity limit" order comes up again; would you vote to rescind it?

MR. HOWREY: I wouldn't participate in it in any form whatsoever.

SENATOR MAGNUSON: So we may have a two and two decision again.

MR. HOWERY: Perhaps you might.

* * * * *

[Statement of George J. Burger, vice-president, National Federation of Independent Business, who appeared before the committee in opposition to Mr. Howrey.]

MR. BURGER: . . . The action of the FTC was vigorously opposed by the Big Four rubber companies, who were ably supported by other large segments in the retail field such as mass distributors, oil companies, etc.

It is to be noted that . . . the Big Four rubber interests, ably represented by competent attorneys . . . attempted through court action to stymie the action of the Commission under the law. I believe the record will show that around January, 1950, such action was instituted by the big rubber interests before a local federal district judge, and their petition was denied. It will be found from the record that the present nominee, Mr. Edward F. Howrey, was there, and to our knowledge

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up until recently, counsel of record for the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., who has been vigorously opposing this rule under the law.

The Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. is one of the largest rubber companies, and by the way, is one of the large companies owning and operating retail stores in direct competition not alone with their own dealers, but also with all other independent dealers.

When this case was before the local federal district judge, I was called upon to attend a hearing in the judge's private chamber, in the courtroom of the Internal Revenue Building. Rubber company attorneys, including Mr. Howrey, staff members of the FTC and the writer were present. . . .

The present case is now pending in the US Court. The rubber company interests *et al.* have a right to pursue, through court action, to invalidate the action of the Commission. We believe that, up to this time, Mr. Howrey is still attorney of record for the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., or was as late as a month ago, when this case was again up before the US Court of Appeals. . . .

Mr. Howrey might disqualify himself on the quantity discount case for the rubber tire industry, but suppose some other industry comes along, the grocer, the butcher, the druggist, or what not, will he use the same reasoning in his opposition to the quantity discount case as a member of the FTC? That is our worry and concern.

* * * * *

SENATOR MAGNUSON: . . . I don't question that you feel if you had some biased interest or represented some clients, which you did in the Firestone case, that you would disqualify yourself, but I am afraid they have you in the wrong place. I wish they would confirm you to some other Commission. What are you going to have, 1,000 more Republican jobs?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, more than that.

SENATOR MAGNUSON: I would like to see you confirmed for some other Commission. I think they are going to embarrass you by doing this to you.

MR. HOWREY: I do want to say, Senator, I am in complete agreement with your viewpoint on the fact that if I am a biased man, if my philosophy is determined, if I can't look at these things fairly and without prior bias, I have no right to be on that Commission, and no one should be. I don't think I am that type. . . .

* * * * *

SENATOR MAGNUSON: If the Supreme Court, in the rubber case, decides for the Commission, then, in your considered opinion, with your background and experience, would you feel it your duty, if you were Chairman of the Commission, to initiate, or attempt to initiate . . . the same procedure in the other lines of the motor industry, to use it as an example?

MR. HOWREY: I would, indeed, if I felt conditions required it.

* * * * *

III.

Kenton R. Cravens—

As Administrator of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, is required, by law, to "aid in financing agriculture, commerce, and industry, to encourage small business, to help in maintaining the economic stability of the country, and to assist in promoting maximum employment and production."

The Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, Homer Capehart (Ind.), chairman, presiding, questioned Mr. Cravens on April 14, 1953.

SENATOR MAYBANK: Mr. Cravens, do you believe in the continuation of the RFC?

MR. CRAVENS: I do not know whether I can answer that the way you would like me to. I certainly intend to administer the RFC under the law.

SENATOR MAYBANK: I do not question that, with your reputation.

MR. CRAVENS: The termination date is next year, and I think you would expect me to give a good deal of thought as to how to accomplish that. And that I shall do. Does that answer your question?

SENATOR MAYBANK: No, because I would like to know if the RFC is not to be continued, who is going to take over the duties of the RFC. . . .

MR. CRAVENS: I would be much better qualified to answer that, Senator Maybank, after I have had a chance to study the RFC and get into it. . . . Personally, I do have much sympathy with government lending, but there are many functions of the RFC that I maintain should be studied, to see what functions should be continued, and who should continue them, and I think you will agree with me on that.

SENATOR MAYBANK: Well, when the private banks are not able to make loans, who is going to make them? . . . It was testified here by some witnesses, speaking for the Administration, that the small businesses would have trouble unless they could return to the RFC for loans.

MR. CRAVENS: I think the small business area of lending has some real merit. Now, where it should be, and how it should be handled, I am not prepared to tell you today. But I think it has a lot of merit. . . .

SENATOR MAYBANK: You believe, then, unless they can substitute something better for the RFC, that perhaps it might be best to continue it, rather than to transfer it to another agency?

MR. CRAVENS: No, I did not quite say that.

SENATOR MAYBANK: What did you say?

MR. CRAVENS: I said that there may be functions that the RFC is performing that should well be continued.

SENATOR MAYBANK: So the RFC should be continued?

MR. CRAVENS: Well, it might or might not. . . .

SENATOR BRICKER: . . . There is already before this committee a bill to abolish the RFC, by Senator Byrd, and other members of the Senate. You would not favor, as I understand it, the continuance of the RFC and the creation of a new small loan agency in the government?

MR. CRAVENS: I do not think I would; no.

SENATOR BRICKER: There are those that favor also the handling of small loan programs, if essential . . . either by direct loans from the Treasury, upon recommendation from proper authority, or handle them through the Federal Reserve System. Have you any thought about that?

MR. CRAVENS: . . . Obviously, if we could devise a system to use the banking system and the Federal Reserve, and still really take care of small business, it would be ideal. . . . I think it is something that ought to be sought, and if there is a way to do it, we ought to do it. But I am not prepared to say it is the thing to do as of today. . . .

SENATOR SPARKMAN: You think, I take it, that there is a field in which some kind of lending program by the government is required, or certainly is desirable?

MR. CRAVENS: I said in the area of small business, most assuredly that should be very carefully studied. Now, there may be other areas. There are certain kinds of facility loans for the defense that may be necessary. Whether they ought to be made directly by the various defense procurement agencies, or somebody else, I do not know. But certainly there are areas that need study and possibly continuance.

SENATOR SPARKMAN: It would not be your opinion, I take it, upon coming into the RFC, to consider yourself there merely for the purpose of closing it up and liquidating it. You will continue to make loans in those fields where you think the law permits, and where you have the demand, the requirement and the necessity?

MR. CRAVENS: Most assuredly. I said at the outset I intend to administer the law, and that is the way it reads today, and it terminates on June 30, 1954—that is, the lending authority. . . .

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"WE ARE NOW FIGHTING ON TWO FRONTS"

In Vienna McCarthy and the Russians Attack Our Information Service

by Juan Cameron

VIENNA'S soft spring weather finds a small crowd of people standing before the United States Information Service's Amerika Haus located on Vienna's smart Karntner Straze. The people watch the revolving window displays, news of the week bulletin boards, or huddle about a window showing the latest sports news. Inside the building Austrians have filled every chair in the reading room before noon. Here they can read anything from the Milwaukee *Journal* to the Viennese *Das Kleine Volksblatt*; or find political opinions ranging from those of the *New Republic* to the *Saturday Evening Post.*

Four blocks away the Soviet Information Center building stands. The five-story modern building advertises crude cartoons depicting every variety of Allied wickedness; in its windows American soldiers are painted with sinister hideousness. Their reading rooms contain magazines featuring signed confessions by US Marine officers that the United States is using germ-bombs in Korea. The contrast with the nearby Amerika Haus is striking; their elaborate reading rooms are half-empty, and only occasional passers-by stop to see the window displays.

In a sense these buildings are symbols of the intense, dramatic information and propaganda battle the Soviet Union and the United States wage in this city far behind the Iron Curtain. Both countries seek to persuade the Austrian that his future lies, as the case may be, with the East or West.

The American radio network, newspaper, documentary films, pamphlets and billboards reach three-fourths of the seven million Austrian population. Eleven US information centers alone attracted more than 1 million visitors in the past three months.

The Russians sponsor, or operate, eight daily newspapers, six magazines, six information centers and 280 reading rooms. They maintain partial control of the Austrian radio network RAVAG. In addition they bring to bear on Austria the information apparatus of Moscow and the satellites.

So the two countries are engaged in a bitter, at times violent struggle. And this month the US information staff of 51 Americans and 850 Austrians face another battle—the attack from behind. Roy M. Cohn, Gerard D. Schine and William Heimlich, who was fired from the government's German information program in 1949, have visited Austria on behalf of Senators McCarthy and Hickenlooper. These visits, following McCarthy's winterlong attacks on other elements of the information program, are made to assess the program's efficiency in Austria; and to seek evidence, amongst personnel already cleared by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to support the premise of extravagance or Communist influence.

Confusion and fear of personal attack are demoralizing the American information employees in Vienna already weakened by McCarthy's Washington offensive. That offensive led to a series of contradicting directives issued by the State Department which to the US information Service (USIS), make sound programming much harder. Two months ago the State Department advised USIS branches that they could use, within strict limitations, writings of Soviet-endorsed authors, in the propaganda battle against Russia. McCarthy protested this ruling. So two weeks later (Feb. 19) another directive was received from the State Department prohibiting outright any use of writings "by Communists, fellow travelers *et cetera.*" In the words of Carl McCardle, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, this was the way to "put the fire out." Information officers protested that this restriction crippled their work. So, one month later, on March 18, this directive was modified by the State Department to allow the use of questionable material at the discretion and judgment of officers responsible for the program. In view of the number of times a man's discretion and judgment have landed him before Congressional investigating committees, this last directive only compounded the confusion. USIS field offices seeking to clarify who is a Communist author, or what publications follow the Communist line, have the explanation of the State Department Press Officer, that: ". . . in any clear-cut case there is no problem . . . [in other cases] this must be determined by those responsible for the program. . . . "

One American official in Vienna who has met each week with the Russians to thrash out occupation problems has noticed the Russian's reluctance at these conferences to make any decision on his own. He fears evidently the consequences of mistaken judgment. When pressed for a decision at these meetings, the Russian invariably asks to adjourn the meeting so that he can

Juan Cameron, a former reporter of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, recently returned from Vienna.

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check with his higher-ups. The result, this American observes, is complete administrative paralysis, which he believes is one of the greatest Soviet weaknesses. Some information personnel in Austria ask if censorship and Congressional harrassment of employees is not producing, or will produce, the same paralysis; and if the spontaneity and integrity that has marked American information work to date will not disappear?

But what about the United States' information program in Austria? Granting that it has made mistakes, and that it can stand improvement, has it nevertheless succeeded in its fight against the Russians? Is it worth the $4 million that the United States spends annually to inform and encourage Austrians? The Austrian national elections that took place in February, 1953, provide, it seems, a good answer to these questions.

Despite a higher unemployment figure than at any time in the past five years, despite Russian attempts to spread disorder during the elections by removing the rubber truncheons of the Austrian police, the Communists received only five percent of the total Austrian vote cast. This was a smaller percentage of the national vote than the Communists received lately in Italy, France, Holland, Sweden or Western Germany. In Vienna where their strength is greatest, Communists received only 94,000 of the 1,690,000 votes cast.

The Austrian whom we seek to persuade through our information activities is a cosmopolitan person, both calm and self-reliant amidst the troubles he lives with. His capital, Vienna, that contains over 40 percent of the country's population, lies further east than either Berlin or Prague; it is isolated from the rest of Austria by the surrounding Russian zone. The city was shelled and burned by the retreating Germans and advancing Russians in 1945. Wartime destruction, postwar starvation followed 20 years of prewar civil disorders and economic depression.

The end of World War II brought no peace to the country. As the Russians have stalled time after time in their promise to sign a peace treaty, the country bears the heavy burden of military occupation, with all its attendant irritations. For example, in the Salzburg area, headquarters of the American army of occupation, there has been a strong civilian reaction to the misbehavior of American troops.

Austria lost a large part of her industrial capacity to the Russians as war booty. For, in lieu of war reparations, the Soviet Union received all external German assets, which, in Austria's case, had been seized from the Austrians by the Germans when they invaded the country in 1938. The Soviets operate these seized assets to undermine the Austrian economy. Avoiding taxes, disregarding custom regulations, operating without trade licenses, they sell goods through their own outlets at prices 50 percent below those in Austrian shops. This price cutting makes good Russian propaganda; it is claimed that Soviet enterprises provide goods at lower prices because of efficient production and absence of exorbitant profits.

Against this background, American information forces have worked to publicize the more than $1.5 billion of American aid spent in rehabilitating Austria; to spread understanding of US policies; to counter Soviet propaganda; to foster the concept of a united Europe, and the Austrian's place in this concept.

The keen interest Austrians have shown in our work is illustrated in the story of the American who was to give a film lecture for the USIS in Inzell. This village that borders on the Russian zone only contains six houses, a school and inn, inhabited by 40 people. The USIS worker found more than a hundred people waiting for his film showing. Puzzled as to where all the people came from, he watched the crowd depart at the film's end. More than half his audience got into boats and rowed across the Danube to homes in the Soviet zone.

Perhaps the most influential branches of the American information service in Austria are the afternoon newspaper, *Wiener Kurier,* and the Red-White-Red radio network, so named for the Austrian flag colors. Besides the newspaper and radio, the Americans run 11 information centers and reading rooms, an extension library service that employs three bookmobiles, a Viennese theatre, student center, press and photo service and small exchange program.

Newspaper circulation figures are a closely guarded secret in Austria, but recent surveys show the US-owned *Wiener Kurier's* circulation of 155,000 alone nearly matches the combined circulation of Vienna's three Communist dailies.

Operated by eight Americans and 40 Austrians, the paper gives full coverage of international news, and more literary comment and cultural features than other Vienna papers, which makes it popular with Austrians. Also, being US Government property, the paper can print news without fear of pressure by the Russians.

Russian military commanders, however, do not hesitate to confiscate in their zone offensive issues of the *Weiner Kurier*; and copies posted on sidewalk bulletin boards are often defaced. The paper will be ripped off, and "Ami Go Home" or "Germ Warfare Killer" painted over the torn sheets.

Last year the Russians, acting under an Allied Press

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Decree that forbids an occupation power to be criticized, confiscated a *Wiener Kurier* map showing slave labor camp locations in the Soviet Union. A jobber living in the Russian zone was arrested for having contracted to staple the maps in the *Wiener Kurier*. The jobber's arrest and the confiscated map were so thoroughly publicized by the American paper that 500,000 copies of the map were reprinted and distributed.

The paper's stories of a Roman Catholic Church in Budapest being torn down to make place for a statue of Stalin; or the Russian artillery practice that destroyed an Austrian village, authenticated with photographs, draw charges of "vile lies and slander" from the Russians, to the delight of the *Wiener Kurier's* Austrian readers.

The most pervasive, subtle and powerful weapon the USIS possesses in Austria is undoubtedly the three-station radio network, with a listener audience of four million Austrians, besides a potential audience of seven million listeners in Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

As radio facilities in Austria are traditionally government-owned, and tax-supported by a monthly levy of 25 cents on each radio set, some Austrian politicians have sought more government control over the American Red-White-Red network, which surveys show has a 65 to 80 percent listener preference in all zones. Since a portion of the radio listener taxes is used to finance the R-W-R programs, some politicians argue the elected representatives of the paying listeners should, therefore, have a say in the network's policy, programming and so forth. Their aim is to make the network "more Austrian." US authorities reject this argument; but they try to maintain good relations by making equal radio time available to both major political parties during elections; by supporting the elected government, especially in those policies mutually supported by the United States and Austria.

This information battle goes on throughout Austria. Soviet posters show a smiling Russian soldier holding a small child in his arms; posters of American soldiers in blood-red uniforms plunging a bayonet into the throat of Austria's prostrate figure, are seen throughout the Soviet zone. Americans counter with two-colored news picture posters placed weekly on 2,300 street locations and railroad stations. More than 800,000 pamphlets describing the Negro's life in the US, American trade unions, foreign policy, or forced labor camps in Soviet Russia, compete with six Soviet weekly magazines with a combined circulation of 225,000.

The USIS has organized Austrian counterparts of the American 4-H clubs; the Russians have established over 40 Austro-Soviet societies. While the US-operated Kosmos Theatre in Vienna produces such plays as Thornton Wilder's *The Ides of March*, or helps present the successful road production of *Porgy and Bess*, the Russians present their concerts and lectures, and their Vienna film-studio produces motion pictures.

So we return to Cohn and Schine. The Russian commanders in Austria, when irritated by some American information material in their zone, order the Austrian police to confiscate or cover with blank strips of paper whatever offends them. Now, to placate Congressional critics, US information workers here are busily blanking out parts of their own material. USIS personnel, under State Department orders, are purging their libraries of writings by Communist authors, and publications that continually print Communist propaganda.

But beyond the clear-cut examples, who is a Communist author? What are publications "that continually print Communist propaganda"? Are anthologies that contain writings of Howard Fast or Clifford Odets to be censored? Do Communist authors include men like Theodore Kaghan, Deputy Director of Public Relations in the American High Commission in Germany, whose writings McCarthy investigators stated have "Communist tendencies." Can Owen Lattimore's book *Ordeal by Slander* remain in USIS libraries?

The Red-White-Red radio network has been ordered not to use "questionable material in a manner to lend undue emphasis to Communist personalities, and/or their statements." Special State Department permission was necessary to allow them to report Stalin's death, and speeches made by Soviet officials at the time.

The State Department has advised its confused field personnel that: " . . . In the case of books to be sent to the field, in formulating lists for the the future guidance of field personnel, and in response to specific queries from the field, this must be determined by those responsible for the program. In making such determinations, they will draw on all resources available to the government." In the case of magazines that might be considered Communist, State Department Press Officer Lincoln White advised. " . . . such determinations will be made strictly on the basis of the material published in the publication concerned." On hearing of these restrictions and their definitions, McCarthy commented ". . . a good, sensible order—just the kind of thing we hoped for, and I compliment Mr. Dulles for issuing it."

The results of this harrying is to cripple the information service in Austria. USIS workers in Austria speak of Congressional "inquisitions"; their energies must be turned inward to purge their program, and defend their reputations when found offensive by Congressional critics. As one official said, "We are now fighting on two fronts."

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

PAVESE'S EXPERIMENTS IN THE NOVEL

by Paolo Milano

A NEW WRITER, if his achievement is genuine, is introduced best by his work, which should be left to make its own way, for a while at least, unheralded and unassisted. But *The Moon and the Bonfires* is perhaps an exception. This is not only Cesare Pavese's first work to be published in English, it is the last novel he wrote or will ever write, for he put an end to his life in the fall of 1950, at the age of forty-two. *The Moon and the Bonfires* appears now in the United States, that country to whose literature Cesare Pavese devoted the best of his work as a searching critic and an indefatigable translator. America was the land he dreamed of continually, knew well and at times described in his novels, though he had never seen it. Surely this posthumous contact, this meeting beyond death, calls for comment.

Whenever I have found myself with an Italian friend, discussing the lively interest of Americans in contemporary Italian fiction—in the work of Alberto Moravia, Carlo Levi, Vasco Pratolini, Giuseppe Berto, Elio Vittorini, Elsa Morante, and the rest—invariably I have been asked, "Why hasn't Pavese been translated yet?" A natural enough question, because Italians consider Pavese's novelettes to be the finest, if not the most colorful, fruit of the postwar literary crop. "Of course," my Italian friends usually add, "how could Pavese's elliptic and allusive style bear translation of any kind?"

Cesare Pavese was an Italian from the North. He was born in 1908 at San Stefano Belbo, a small town in Piedmont. He grew up in the countryside which supplies the background for *The Moon and the Bonfires*. In contrast with the legendary ebullient Italian, the Piedmontese are famed for their taciturnity; they are serious, hard-working people, politically abreast with the times. No wonder that, of all Italy, Piedmont was least infected by the fascist virus.

Cesare Pavese was fourteen when Mussolini seized power; his youth and his growth as a writer was stifled by oppression and tyranny. As he often and gratefully acknowledged, his early acquaintance with American literature saved him from sinking into utter apathy. About 1930, he and a few friends pounced eagerly upon nineteenth-century American classics, then upon the great novelists of the 1920's and the 1930's. "At that point," Pavese recalled many years later, "American culture became something very serious and precious to us. . . . In those years of study, we discovered that America was not *another* country, a *new* beginning of history, but only a gigantic stage on which everybody's drama was played with greater frankness than elsewhere."

Pavese's first book was a collection of verse, *Lavorare stanca* ("To Work Is Tiring," 1936). It contained some excellent pieces; also it marked the only European poetry of that period which bore the imprint of Walt Whitman. Pavese's chief activity through the thirties, however, was his remarkable achievement as a translator. His version of Melville's *Moby Dick* appeared in 1931, a monumental task performed *con amore*. There followed translations of Gertrude Stein, of Sherwood Anderson, of Dos Passos, of Faulkner—to mention only the highlights. Both as translator and as essayist, Cesare Pavese probably did more than any single man to make American literature known, loved and imitated in Italy. He had no private income and the authorities frowned upon his work. His critical views were occasionally questionable—witness his enthusiasm for *Spoon River Anthology*—but his industry and his intellectual curiosity were insatiable.

In 1935, his opposition to Mussolini's regime landed Pavese first in jail, then in confinement on an island off Naples. He was back in Turin, his permanent residence, in time to witness the approach of Armageddon.

Pavese's first novel, *Paesi tuoi* ("Native Ground," 1941), stirred up the stagnant waters of Italian fiction. The book had a healthy effect of surprise and it created a minor literary scandal. The characters of this *novella* not only went down to their doom through incest and crime like so many characters in American fiction, but they also spoke a peculiar Italian idiom that echoed the speech of Hemingway's killers or of Faulkner's poor whites. *Paesi tuoi* was obviously experimental and derivative; but it defied old and stifling literary conventions, and it cleared the air for the future work of this author and of many writers to come.

Between 1943 and 1945, Pavese took to the woods as so many thousands of Italians did. On the hills of Nazi-occupied Piedmont, he lived close to those partisan bands around which the best part of the Italian people gathered to fight the foreign occupants and to work for future justice. These proved to be decisive years for Pavese. He felt he had personally discovered that the modern writer, if he is to escape isolation and despair, must align himself with those who are oppressed, and his work must reflect the social struggle. No doubt Pavese's convictions were deeply sincere; but they were also peculiarly naïve. Further, the writer's task as he now conceived it was at odds with his lyrical and elegiac temperament. Yet this contradiction is the mainspring of Pavese's art.

(Continued on page 23)

The Editors are grateful to Mr. Paolo Milano and to the publishers for their permission to print this essay, the introduction to Cesare Pavese's The Moon and the Bonfires *(Farrar, Straus and Young, $3), to be published on May 21.*

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ESCAPE AND SANCTUARY

THE RETREAT, by P. H. Newby (Knopf; $3). THE OUTSIDER, by Richard Wright (Harper; $3.95). STEPHANIA, by Ilona Karmel (Houghton Mifflin; $3.75).

"ESCAPE" and "Sanctuary"—these twin and complementary longings have slumbered like incubi at the back of the Western mind for at least a century. In our time they have become even more insistent, crystallizing finally in the urge to become invisible. And it is "invisibility" that provides the explicit theme for two serious novels, *The Retreat* and *The Outsider*, and lends general background to a third, *Stephania*.

The Retreat is a "retreat from God" taken by Oliver Knight, an A.W.O.L. British fighter pilot, in company with the beautiful and mindless Jane Hesketh, wife to Knight's best friend. Driven out of France with other wounded British soldiers by the Germans, Knight, a respected officer and a loving husband, keeps right on going, on his return to England, thereby setting off a man-hunt as his puzzled wife and his concerned superior officers try to track him down in the countryside. The lovely, mad Jane, who after the death of a child has "tried to live as though nothing mattered," inadvertently casts her spell over Knight, and he becomes the invisible man.

This novel, which is beautifully written and lucidly organized, carries the reader into a fast-moving, phantasmagoric mental world where under great external stress, profound ambiguities and obscure motivations erupt within character. Love itself is turned inside out and, as Knight at the end tells his long-suffering wife, "this would never have happened if I had loved you just a little bit less. It must be wrong to love anybody as much as I love you." Finally, only dimly understanding him, drawn to him more by his terrible intensity, she takes him back, allows him, in his word, "sanctuary."

The Outsider is a brutal, melancholy, violent novel, having behind it only a kind of hopeless rage that does not even rise to savage indignation and has about it none of that sacred rage which we associate with the great novels on social issues.

Cross Damon, who is Bigger Thomas intellectualized and gone French Existentialist, escapes his fate, an estranged wife with three children and a pregnant under-age paramour, and becomes invisible by being involved in a subway wreck in Chicago, from which a mutilated body is drawn and identified as that of Damon. Freed, he sets off for New York where he undergoes a contretemps with the Communists, a brush with the police, kills three people, and is finally shot by the Communists.

Even the symbolism is literal and brutal—the "outsider" comes upon a Communist and a "Fascist" (a Texan who hates Negroes) engaged in a bloody fight, belaboring each other with a poker. The "outsider" then seizes a table leg and bludgeons *both* to death. There is no doubt a certain poetic justice in this denouement, yet it is but a symptom of the protagonist's reaction to any event—to lash out physically and to annihilate.

The Outsider makes sad reading when one thinks of its author—a man of determination, idealism, intelligence (he is not a genuine *writer* as compared to someone like Newby), driven by intolerable circumstances, but, as he is the first to say, driven by himself, by his own demon, to this bleak wailing wall, there to curse the night in which a manchild was conceived and the day in which it was born. Thus the novel is not only a plague on both your houses but a plague on life itself, despite the fact that the dying protagonist utters a retraction of his nihilism.

Stephania is a first novel by Polish-born Ilona Karmel, who endured the German Occupation, convalesced in Sweden, and is now an American citizen and a graduate of Radcliffe, where she began the novel in a writing class under Archibald MacLeish. The central figure, Stephania, attractive, intelligent, impervious, is malfigured by a hump-back brought on by a spinal disease which could possibly have been cured but because of the war—she is a Polish Jewess—is allowed to take its course. Much against the wishes and better judgment of a Swedish doctor, she forces him, practically, to take her on as a patient. She is finally not cured, in the body, but her soul is scarred and softened and she acquires her measure of tolerance and understanding.

Meanwhile—the entire novel takes place in a Swedish hospital—the whole routine and psychology of hospital life is evoked, with great penetration and a splendid sense of the comic. Certainly Froken Nilsson, one of Stephania's room-mates — a spinster from the provinces suffering from a multiple-fractured leg which secretly she does not wish to mend, stuffing herself with food, full of non-existent romantic "affairs," jealous, petty, narrow, stupid, a great white glob of fat perched for two years on a groaning hospital bed, thoroughly unadmirable and yet, and this is the key to the authoress' talent, thoroughly understandable and likeable—is a masterpiece of comic invention.

The psychological give-and-take in *Stephania* is like a square-dance. The bitter arrogance of Stephania jolts her two room-mates out of their hospital lethargy; Froken Nilsson goes on a diet, undergoes an amputation, learns to walk with a wooden leg, and finally marries. Little Thura, completely crippled by polio, is forced by Stephanie to learn to move her fingers. All the while the common helpless humanity of these two creatures is, subtly but surely, taking the bitter edge of arrogance off the proud spirit of Stephania herself.

Stephania is a little *Magic Mountain* in its own right. At its heart is that open secret, which the healthy can never know and which the momentarily ill would find incomprehensible, that the chronically ill often fall in love with their own malaise and that for them then the hospital is Sanctuary and the greatest evil is recovery and banishment to the world of health and activity.

Each of these novels takes a superior individual and places him or her under extraordinary stress and then poses the problems of "Escape" and "Sanctuary." And they all seem to say that for the bright and the proud of this world there *is* no Escape, save into bitterness and death. But there is a Sanctuary—it is inhabited by love. JOHN HENRY RALEIGH

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Has fear of Russia made us prudent ... or paralyzed?

VERA MICHELES DEAN

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SOCIAL ENGINEERING

THE SENSORY ORDER, by F. A. Hayek (Chicago; $5). THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION OF SCIENCE, by F. A. Hayek (Free Press; $4).

THESE TWO BOOKS by the author of *The Road to Serfdom* deal with different fields and are addressed to different audiences, but are alike in that both of them emphasize the limitations of human knowledge. *The Sensory Order,* subtitled *An Inquiry into the Foundations of Theoretical Psychology,* begins with the proposition that all perception consists essentially of classification; what we perceive is not qualities in themselves but resemblances and differences between one quality and another. Nearly two hundred pages of close psychological analysis lead Professor Hayek to the conclusion that the human mind cannot construct a complete picture of the universe in which it is itself included:

> The very conception of such a completion of the task of science is a contradiction in terms. . . . Our conclusion, therefore, must be that *to us* mind must forever remain a realm of its own which we can know only through directly experiencing it, but which we shall never be able fully to explain or to reduce to something else.

This argument is reaffirmed in *The Counter-Revolution of Science,* the main purpose of which is to reinforce the thesis of *The Road to Serfdom* by analyzing the origins of the idea of a planned society in the writings of Saint-Simon, Comte and their disciples. Just as the mind cannot know the universe without somehow getting outside it, so the social engineer cannot fully know and direct a society of which he is himself a part. Thus the concept of planning necessitates a planner who is godlike in the range of his information and is invested with dictatorial powers.

The Sensory Order is addressed primarily to psychological specialists. *The Counter-Revolution of Science,* on the other hand, is written for the general reader, who will find it a remarkably suggestive contribution to the history of ideas. Professor Hayek shows that the notion of planning originated in an illegitimate extension of engineering concepts to sociology, and that its authors were much more explicit about its implications than their social-democratic successors. Saint-Simon (or his young collaborator, Auguste Comte) frankly affirmed in *La Système Industriel* that "the vague and metaphysical idea of liberty . . . impedes the action of the masses on the individual" and was "contrary to the development of civilization and to the organization of a well-ordered system." There was at first, moreover, no association of socialist planning with democracy; at different times Saint-Simon hoped to see a planned society realized by Napoleon or by the Bourbon monarchy or brought about through the establishment of industrial monopoly by the banking houses. It was only later in the nineteenth century that the idea of socialism became fused with the struggle of the working class against capitalist exploitation and with much of the liberal faith in the rights of man.

Professor Hayek's polemic against what he calls "the scientistic hybris" is irrefutable. But, as in *The Road to Serfdom,* he has a disturbing tendency to argue in either/or terms, implying that the alternative to over-all planning is a total reliance on individual spontaneity. The actions of free individuals, he insists, will produce a system which, though not planned by any mind, will nevertheless be purposive in the sense of meeting human needs. He draws an analogy from the manner in which a path is gradually traced across a field by persons seeking the quickest way across, and suggests that in the same way the unregulated activities of individuals under laissez-faire conditions can be trusted to result in efficient organization. But even the laissez-faire economy developed within a framework created in some measure by deliberate decisions. Its operations depended upon laws of property and inheritance, corporation laws, currency and credit mechanisms, and (in the United States) public land policies; all of these had to be consciously planned and had far-reaching effects on the distribution of wealth and the movement of the whole economy. Any social organization necessitates some form of planning; and the characteristic of a free society is not the lack of planning but the reliance on regulation through general laws rather than on direct compulsion.

HENRY BAMFORD PARKES

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DOCUMENTARIST DODGE

THE WORLD OF ROBERT FLAHERTY, by Richard Griffith (Duell, Sloan, and Pierce—Little, Brown; $5).

THIS BOOK is a natural outgrowth of the Flaherty cult, which became both historical and official when Flaherty died in 1951. Its best feature is the intermittent account of the making of *Nanook of the North,* Flaherty's first important film that once and for all established his theme, together with his wife's account of the filming of *Moana,* and an assistant's, Pat Mullen's, record of how *Man of Aran* was done. Mr. Griffith's own framework for these and other lengthy quotations is almost unnecessarily modest. However, the hero-worshipping key of the last chapter leaves no doubt as to the dimensions and character of the notable documentarist tale-teller as visualized by this commentator.

Robert Flaherty is, indeed, a distinct case in filmic annals, and if Mr. Griffith's book will disappoint the observer with a truly critical attitude, it is reasonably accurate and plausible as a document in its own right. The flaw in the whole cult of Flaherty is what I would point out as the besetting sin of those who consider themselves on the side of the non-commercial "angels." There is in Mr. Griffith's prose, at its rosiest, more than a hint of the bland and naïve self-righteousness of those who follow Flaherty because they believe he kept the camera "pure," that is to say, free of balderdash fiction and high commercial exploitation. This is substantially true of Flaherty's best works, but the other side of the picture is *Elephant Boy,* which —between Kipling, Alexander Korda, and Sabu—aptly proved that Flahertyism tended to be erased as it was carried toward fictional realms. Flaherty had bowed out of collaboration with F. W. Murnau on *Tabu* as soon as the duel project assumed a distinctly *imaginative* character.

Thus, what situation do we have with Flaherty as an archetypal film-maker? Mr. Griffith wishes to disclaim "romantic naturalist" as the epithet for Flaherty no less than he wishes to deny that Flaherty was a primitivist. His final chapter reveals that he backs, instead, a virtually mythological sort of pantheism, whose epigraphs are "a wonder and delight in all things under the sun" and "the visage that God meant all men to show one another." Behind these innocently supplied clinches is the harder nugget of truth that toward the primitive in man and nature Flaherty was more a *puritan* than anything else. His method of working (compactly formulated by Mr. Griffith in his last paragraphs) shows that he brought nothing to film as an art but a loose kind of experimentalism—he did not even do his own editing on his last film, *Louisiana Story.* Thus he lacked altogether the artist's most important faculty, the *formal idea,* something which Eisenstein, whose work has points of contact with his, possessed pre-eminently.

An adequate formal validity, then, is something for which one may search in vain in Flaherty's films. It is always the strategy of the radically ungifted to construct a conception of truth which alleges that pure motives toward "reality" are what dominate the value of artistic work. This is the business at which (I am unhappy to conclude) Mr. Griffith finds himself in this book, and which I may dub the "documentarist dodge." Documentarism pretends to have the *open sesame* to the filmic future whereas its function is strictly limited to the informational and the expositional. Flaherty's work is simply the travel-film raised to a heroic level. He had certain crude instincts of the poet and even of the myth-maker, but he quite lacked the imaginative equipment to take things any further than what is, in certain parts of *Moana* and *Louisiana Story,* a naïve experimentalism. Apparently, the most memorable portions of his work will remain those scenes in *Nanook* and *Man of Aran* where the sheer dynamic imagery of picturesque nature yields a half-accidental and fragmentary dividend of human myth and cinematic form.

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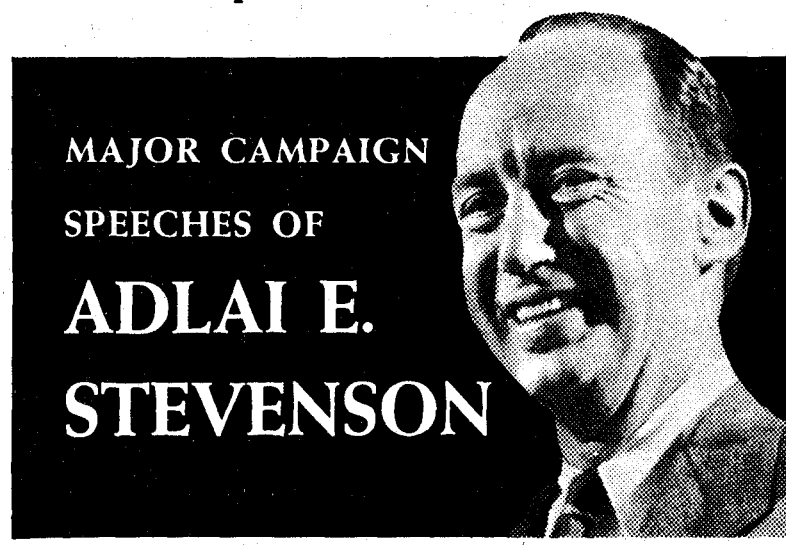

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BRIGHT TRAGIC THING

by Eric Bentley

THE PHYSIQUE and technique of Martha Graham have been brilliantly described by Robert Horan, Agnes DeMille, and other experts on the dance. If a theatre critic can add anything to the understanding of her work, it will not be because he knows more, or as much, about it, but because he sees it in another way. He sees it as theatre. He sees the dancer as actress and, yes, as dramatist.

The statement that the two best American dramatists are Charlie Chaplin and Martha Graham is not to be dismissed with the observation that one of them is English and neither is a dramatist, for the fact remains that this pair have worked for decades with American materials on American soil and that they have excelled in dramatic composition. It is true that this excellence has been overshadowed by the acknowledged originality of their performing; but I don't think anyone who took a second look at any of their major works would fail to see it; *City Lights* and *The Gold Rush*, *Letter to the World* and *Night Journey*, are among the finest dramas ever produced in this country.

In the nineteenth century, drama became too exclusively dramatic—that is, too exclusive of epic and lyric. In the twentieth century the movies reminded us of the value of epic in dramatic entertainment, and the best movies were Chaplin's. The lyric element was also farmed out to another medium—not the movies but the musicals. Of the poets who essayed drama, even the greatest were less dramatic in their plays than in their poems. It was an inspired idea of Martha Graham's to exploit the dramatic quality of non-dramatic verse as she does in *Letter to the World*, currently revived at the Alvin for Mme. de Rothschild's festival of American Dance.

A double inspiration, for Emily Dickinson's phrases seem, if not a description of Martha Graham, at any rate a verbal equivalent of her dancing. Eat evanescence slowly, postponeless creature, cornets of paradise, gay ghastly holiday, looking at death is dying—these are among the phrases which Martha Graham weaves into a pattern of action. But skillful patterning is the least of it. If I understand what has usually been meant by a tragic sense of life, it is something that our playwrights do not have and which Graham does. She can express anguish and she can make it the companion of joy. She can put the elemental emotions to work like a symphonic composer. She can open the sluices which our torpor and sophistication have shut. "The birth of tragedy from the spirit of music" is Nietzsche's fine formula: Martha Graham seems to lead us back to that musical beginning, a realm of Jungian archetypes, Goethean mothers, feelings purged of trivial and accidental contacts.

She can express anguish. "There is a pain so utter it swallows being up." She has shifted the dancer's center of gravity in order to seize and define pain. Her favorite arm-position is the elbow flexed, the fore-arm upright, the hand back and horizontal, almost clutching. The "pain" sequence of *Letter* is the grandest and deepest, but "After great pain a formal feeling comes/The nerves sit ceremonious like tombs/The feet mechanical go round a wooden way/This is the hour of lead." Modern dance often has lines as straight as Mondrian. Giving an impression of weight, weight pressing downwards into the earth, it is at its best.

Graham can make sorrow the companion of joy. "Mirth is the mail [male(?)] of anguish." The humor of Martha Graham is not abundant and all-embracing like Chaplin's. So soon as Graham ventures out into pure humor she becomes a little coy—that is, a little false. To be true, her humor must remain tied to her solemnity—if only by the rope of parody, as in the sequence with March at the love seat. Her humor belongs to the dialectic of her being.

Which is integrated. She has two eyes but one vision. "Life is a spell so exquisite that everything conspires to break it." The universal conspiracy provides the antagonist, the conflict, without which victory could not be exquisite. "Glory is that bright tragic thing that for an instant means dominion." Here Emily Dickinson's words soar so high they suggest an artist's lodestar rather than his real estate; yet the bright tragic thing is seldom far away when Graham dances.

From *Night Journey*—Graham's version of the Oedipus story—I should like to derive a moral. When the Greek National Theatre was here, I was disappointed to find them presenting their chorus in the staid, white neo-classic tradition that goes back through Reinhardt to Winckelmann but scarcely further. I believe we should have a more modern version of Greek tragedy if we had a more ancient one, and I hear that at least one living Greek director, Charles Konn, has actually been trying a pre-classical style. For myself, the only time I have felt that *this* must be what the Greeks meant by a chorus, was in *Night Journey*. There is nothing "literary," nothing of the latter-day nightshirt tradition about it. This chorus dances with an absolute modernity; we enjoy the twentieth century in them and at the same time we feel swept back two and a half thousand years.

The individual performances in it are also very striking (especially Stuart Hodes' staccato leaps as Tiresias). And, in general, not the least attraction of a Graham production is in the realm of sheer stage personality. Even a dancer with very small roles like Patricia Birsh is given the chance to project personality and, like several of her colleagues, seems to have as much to project as a whole cast of actors. I should not speak of mere quantity. The personality projected (this time I am thinking of Natanya Neumann) is of a lofty and subtle beauty not seen in a minor role since the Barraults were with us.

Graham is of course a supreme personality, that is, the opposite of what is generally called personality in the theatre: she is not an ingratiating person without art but an austere, unprepossessing, forbidding person transfigured by art. Her personality is a creation. And it continues to be created during each performance: when we say it holds us, we mean we are in the grip of a concentrated will. Graham does not have to dance in order to win us. She doesn't even have to move. Such is concentration—otherwise known as personality. In short she is great.

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Milano *(Continued from page 17)*

From 1946 to his death, Pavese wrote and published seven short novels, all remarkably uniform and intensely personal. *Il Compagno* ("The Comrade," 1947) and *Tra donne sole* ("Among Women Alone," 1948) are rated as his finest achievements before *The Moon and the Bonfires*. More exactly, perhaps, Pavese devoted the last five years of his life to writing one and the same unborn novel. He kept focusing the twin themes of childhood loneliness and hard-earned adult brotherhood until he succeeded in expressing them, firmly and delicately, in the present book.

Parenthetically, I must mention at least two of Pavese's books which fall without the main effort I have tried to define. These are *Dialoghi con Leuco* ("Dialogue with Leuko," 1949), a series of poetic meditations on ancient mythology—the writer's favorite book, which was found on his deathbed—and his posthumous collection of verse, *Verrà la Morte e avrà i tuoi occhi* ("Death will Stare at me out of Your Eyes," 1951). Love lyrics, for the most part, these poems are obviously addressed to an American woman. They are narrative in tone, and pervaded by a sense of doom; the blend is arresting.

Two of these poems are not in Italian; they were conceived and written in English—in a groping, adolescent English. The book ends with one of them. It is entitled "Last Blues, to be read some day" and, although undistinguished as a piece of poetry, is very moving, I feel, as an ultimate note of farewell. Here it is:

'T was only a flirt
you sure did know—
some one was hurt
long time ago.

All is the same
time has gone by—
some day you came
some day you'll die.

Some one has died
long time ago—
some one who tried
but didn't know.

The Moon and the Bonfires is a book leading inevitably to a "dead end"; it is a work written under the spell of death: It is a "return-of-the-native" story. Though it contains murders, arson and even an execution, it has been called, as the absurd phrase goes, "a book without a plot." To me it is obvious that the author wished it so and for his own good reasons. He felt that a well-built story is often a flight of rhetoric. He was determined to describe his Piedmontese village as "a center of paralysis"—James Joyce's definition of his native Dublin. And he wanted to show how the narrator's life (and, in a measure, the world at large at a perilous turn of its history) is locked in a deadly stalemate.

The Moon and the Bonfires is a work at once ambitious and subdued, plain and reticent, earthy and bristling with emblems. The narrator's reminiscences unfold on three parallel levels: his boyhood as a bastard child on a Piedmontese farm, his failure to find a home in America, and his return to the village in the aftermath of the war, of partisan strife and of buried political hopes. Pavese is haunted by the feeling that modern life has no roots. Our life is either mechanical or utopian, practical or fanatical. Amid the poverty-stricken people of backward countries, sap is still flowing, but it may very well dry up soon.

The crucial symbols of the novel are covered by its title. But they are so lavishly ambiguous that the reader hesitates to interpret them. To me, the "moon" would seem to be both life in America —a prosperous desert—and the western European toiling man's dream of Communism—which is so dangerous and moving and equivocal. Equally remote from either, the life of the Italian peasantry is steadily burning out in "bonfires." My key to the main metaphor of the novel may well be wrong. But I am sure that the book embodies the poetic will and testament of a writer who, incapable of solving a dilemma, felt in duty bound to pose it in all honesty.

After Pavese's death, his fellow-countrymen engaged in a bitter and cruel controversy about the "import" of his suicide. Rightists claimed that here was the death of an inveterate Leftist who had at long last come to see the light; Pavese's former political friends, on the contrary, insisted that he had succumbed to a wholly personal psychosis, with, of course, no political overtones. The suicide's last note read: "No gossip."

I understand that the translation of *The Moon and the Bonfires* has presented quite a problem, and I can readily see why. The American novelist's main task, in so far as language is concerned, is to lend literary dignity to American colloquial speech, which is so ephemerally wealthy and so wonderfully alive. The Italian novelist's predicament is almost the converse: he has to inject new life into a literary language, which, being old and cultured, is far removed from common speech. Most Italians think and live in their own vernacular, in one of the many dialects of their varicolored country. The best way out for an Italian writer — the course that Giovanni Verga, Grazia Deledda and Ignazio Silone all adopted—is to transpose into literary Italian the expressions and metaphors which the vernaculars so readily suggest. Pavese followed suit, drawing felicitously from the stock of North Italian parlance, and in a way he improved upon the device.

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